

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----212027 123970 /41
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FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 0213

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 BRASILIA 1419

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR ENRG PARM BR
SUBJECT: US-BRAZILIAN NUCLEAR RELATIONS

REF: (A) STATE 036129 (B) STATE PEOPPW

1. AS THE DEPARTMENT CERTAINLY APPRECIATES, THE NEW FORMULATION BY THE GOB (MADE PUBLIC BY SILVEIRA - SEE BRASILIA 1414) OF THE AGENDA FOR THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S MARCH 1 VISIT HAS IMPORTANT IMPLICATION NOT ONLY FOR THE CONDUCT OF THE DISCUSSION BUT ALSO FOR THE ENTIRE FUTURE EVOLUTION OF THE ISSUE. THE NEW TERMINOLOGY -- "GLOBAL ASPECTS OF THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR" -- REPRESENTS A FURTHER ATTEMPT BY THE GOB TO ESTABLISH VERY RESTRICTIVE GROUND RULES AND TO LAY A UNILATERAL "JURIDICAL" BASE FOR AVOIDING OR LIMITING DISCUSSION OF THE SENSITIVE ELEMENTS OF THE FRG AGREEMENT. SINCE THE GOB OFFICIALLY MAINTAINS THAT IT HAS NO INTENTION TO PRODUCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THAT THE ACCORD WITH GERMANY IS SAFE-GUARDED, WITH USG CONCURRENCE, AGAINST SUCH A POSSIBILITY, THE NEW GOB DEFINITION OF WHAT IT IS PREPARED TO DISCUSS COULD, IF HELD TO FIRMLY, LEAD TO A SITUATION IN WHICH THE CONVERSATION REVOLVE PRINCIPALLY AROUND THE QUESTION OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT. IN

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THAT CASE, THE USG WOULD TAKE THE PLACE OF THE GOB AND THE FRG AS "DEFENDANT."

2. THE USG, OF COURSE, DOES NOT HAVE TO AND, IN MY OPINION, AT LEAST, CANNOT ACCEPT THIS FURTHER LITIGATION LITERALLY. NEVERTHELESS, OUR ABILITY TO IGNORE, OR NOT TAKE CONGNIZANCE OF, THE UNILATERAL DEFINITION BY THE GOB OF THE CONTENT OF

THE TALKS WITH THE DEPUTY SECRETARY IS CLEARLY ERODED BY THE PROGRESSIVELY NARROWER SCOPE THAT THE GOB IS GIVING OFFICIALLY AND PUBLICLY TO THE DISCUSSION.

3. THE FUNDAMENTAL NATURE OF THE PROBLEM REPRESENTED BY THE NEW GOB DEFINITION WILL BECOME MANIFEST, OF COURSE, IN THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S VISIT. AS AMTTERS NOW STAND, I DOUBT THAT WE COULD GET THE GOB TO AGREE TO ANY PHRASEOLOGY DESCRIBING THE PURPOSE OF THE VISIT THAT IS SHORT OF THE NEW BRAZILIAN FORMULATION. ASSUMING, AS I DO THAT WE CANNOT ACCEPT THAT GOB DESCRIPTION--AN ASSUMPTION THAT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS HAVE SHAKEN SOMEWHAT (SEE NEXT PARA) -- WE MAY END UP HAVING TO ISSUE SEPARATE AND DIFFERENT ANNOUNCEMENTS OR (PREFERABLY) A COMMON AND SIMULTANEOUS ANNOUNCEMENT THAT IS VERY GENERAL AND NEUTRAL (EG "TO DISCUSS MATTERS OF CURRENT MUTUAL INTEREST (IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD).") THE PROBLEM WITH SUCH BLANDNESS IS, OF COURSE THAT THE DIFFERENCE OF PURPOSE MAY BE HIGHLIGHTED RATHER THAN OBSURED. IN MY OPINION, THIS QUESTION IS CRITICAL AND I AM MOST RELUCTANT TO TREAT IT AS CASUALLY AS PARA 5 OF STATE 039002 SEEMS TO SUGGEST. WHAT I NEED FROM THE DEPARTMENT BEFORE DISCUSSING LANGUAGE WITH THE GOB IS A CLEAR STATEMENT OF THE LIMITS OF OUR POSITION, TRANSLATED INTO A SERIES OF SPECIFIC FORMULATIONS AGREEABLE TO US, RANGING FROM THE OPTIMUM TO THE MINIMALLY ACCEPTABLE.

4. I CONSIDER THAT THIS KIND OF CLEAR FOCUS IS ALL THE MORE NECESSARY BECAUSE OF WHAT I INTERPRET TO BE IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE CONTENT OF THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S SECRET

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LAST CONVERSATION WITH AMBASSADOR PINHEIRO AND THE TALKING POINTS I WAS GIVEN, AND USED, IN MY SIMULTANEOUS MEETING WITH SECRETARY GENERAL GUERREIRO. I CONFESS TO BEING UNCERTAIN ABOUT WHERE WE REALLY STAND NOW AND HOW OUR POSITION IS, OR APPEARS TO BE, EVOLVING. TO BE MORE SPECIFIC: (A) AS I READ STATE 036129, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY SPECIFICALLY ACCEPTED (PARA 4) THE "OLD" BRAZILIAN FORMULATION THAT IS, THE ONE THAT JUST PRECEDED PINHEIRO'S RE-DEFINITION (PARA 2). I RECOGNIZE, OF COURSE, THAT THIS ACCEPTANCE WAS QUALIFIED OR DILUTED SOMEWHAT BY THE EXPRESSIONS CONTAINED IN THE REMAINDER OF PARA 4 AND THE FIRST SUB PARA 5, BUT THE MAJOR CONCESSIONS REMAINED. IN CONTRAST, THE TALKING POINTS I WAS GIVEN DID NOT REPORT NOT MAKE THIS ADJUSTMENT BUT RATHER USED THE LANGUAGE "NON-PROLIFERATION AND GLOBAL NUCLEAR POLICY" -- WHICH REPRESENTED TO ME AN APPROPRIATELY GUARDED MOVE IN THE DIRECTION OF THE OLD GOB POSITION. (B) EVEN MORE SIGNIFICANTLY, I FIND IN THE ACCOUNT OF THE MEETING WITH PINHEIRO NO REPORT NO REPETITION OF THE "INDEFINITE DEFERRAL" OBJECT, ALTHOUGH MY TALKING POINTS DID INCLUDE

A REITERATION OF THAT PURPOSE. MOREOVER, THE FIRST SUBPARA OF PARA 5 STATES THAT THE TALKS WILL NOT FOCUS ON THE AGREEMENTS. AGAIN I APPRECIATE THAT THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S SUMMING-UP STATEMENT IN PARA 7 (MISNUMBERED PAR PARA 6 BECAUSE THERE ARE TWO PARAS 5) MAY HAVE BEEN INTENDED AS A GENTLY PHRASED EQUIVALENT OF INDEFINITE DEFERRAL; I JUST DO NOT KNOW. IN ANY EVENT, AND EVEN MAKING ALLOWANCES FOR HASTY OR

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 BRASILIA 1419

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TOO GENERAL DRAFTING OF THE TELEGRAM REPORTING ON THE TALK WITH PINHEIRO, I FIND INTERESTING, TO SAY THE LEAST, THE POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS OF THE LACK OF REFERENCE TO THE "INDEFINITE DEFERRAL" OBJECTIVE.

5. I AM SURE THAT THE DEPARTMENT UNDERSTANDS THAT THESE CONSIDERATIONS I RAISE ARE NOT QUIBBLES OVER LANGUAGE BUT RATHER MATTERS OF MAJOR POTENTIAL SUBSTANCE. I AM SURE ALSO THAT THE DEPARTMENT UNDERSTANDS THAT THE DIFFERENCES IN LANGUAGE BETWEEN THE PRESENTATION TO PINHEIRO AND THE ONE I WAS AUTHORIZED TO MAKE HERE WILL HAVE BEEN VERY CAREFULLY NOTED AND ANALYZED BY THE GOB, WHICH IS SENSITIVE AND ALERT TO SHIFTS, EVEN NUANCED ONES, IN OUR POSITION. FINALLY, I AM SURE THAT THE DEPARTMENT IS NOT UNDERESTIMATING THE SKILL, TENACITY AND DETERMINATION OF THE GOB.

6. THE NET OF ALL THIS IS AN URGENT REQUEST THAT I BE FURNISHED AN UP-TO-DATE ACCOUNT OF OUR THINKING AND STRATEGY SO THAT THE EMBASSY WILL NOT HAVE TO READ BETWEEN THE LINES TO TRY TO UNDERSTAND THE USG POSITION.

7. LOOKING FARTHER AHEAD, I ASSUME THAT THE DEPARTMENT IS
GIVING CAREFUL THOUGHT TO A PROGRAM OF "PUBLIC DIPLOMACY" ON
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THE QUESTIONS INVOLVED WITH FRG/GOB AGREEMENT, A PROGRAM THAT,
(A) WOULD TRY TO GET ACROSS TO A WORLD AUDIENCE OUR BROAD
CONCERNS ABOUT THE SPREAD OF SENSITIVE TECHNOLOGY; (B)
WOULD, HOWEVER, BE PITCHED ON A HIGH PLANE SO AS TO BE
"DEPERSONALIZED" IN TERMS OF SPECIFIC COUNTRY SITUATION; AND
(C) WOULD BE DESIGNED TO EVOKE PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT
FROM OTHER GOVERNMENTS. I RECOGNIZE THAT SUCH A PROGRAM
CANNOT BE UNDERTAKEN UNTIL THE BROAD REVIEW NOW UNDEWAY IS
COMPLETED AND APPROVED, BUT THE SOMONER WE GET OUT OF THE
PUBLIC "ONE-ON-ONE" SITUATION WITH BRAZIL AND THE FRG AND WE
ENLIST THE PUBLIC SUPPORT OF OTHER COUNTRIES, THE BETTER.

8. I ALSO HOPE THAT WASHINGTON IS EXAMINING THE OPPORTUNI-
TIES, AS WELL AS THE RISKS, IN THE ARGENTINE STIRRINGS
PROVOKED BY THE US ATTITUDE TOWARD THE FRG-GOB AGREEMENT.
ALTHOUGH RECENT ARGENTINE STATEMENTS ARE, ON BALANCE, NEGATIVE
WITH RESPECT TO OUR POSITION, THE MERE FACT THAT THERE IS
DISCUSSION ABOUT GOA-GOB RELATIONSHIPS IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD
HAS AT LEAST INTRODUCED SOME MOVEMENT THAT JUST CONCEIVABLY
MIGHT LEAD TO A POSITIVE RESULT.

9. ACTIONS REQUESTED: (A) GUIDANCE FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH
THE GOB ON THE CONTENT OF THE PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE
DEPUTY SECRETARY'S VISIT (PARA 3 ABOVE); AND (B) AN UP-TO-
DATE ACCOUNT OF OUR STRATEGY TOWARD THE FRG-GOB AGREEMENT
(PARA 6 ABOVE).

10. FNOTE FOR DRAFTING OFFICERS: DUE TO BRAZILIAN HOLIDAYS,
EMBASSY'S C&R WILL BE CLOSED FROM NOON FEB 22 TO NOON FEB 23,
AND ANY TELS WHICH NEED ATTENTION DURING THIS INTERVAL MUST
BE SLUGGED NIACT.

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